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ONE KOREA

Lessons of the Korean War

Need of Disengagement

Military Gov't Shaken up

Counter-coups and Boycott

A Year of Military Rule

Outrages and Frauds

Aspirations For Unification

Unchanged

No. 12

June 1962

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

- 1) To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.
- 2) To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

- 1) To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.

Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslovakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.

- 2) All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.

In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.

- 3) The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by the All-Korea Conference, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.

The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.

- 4) The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces and evacuate Korea as soon as possible.

The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS
AND VIEWS ON KOREAN
UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS

June 1, 1962

No. 12

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No More Korean War

War is death's feast.

*War makes thieves,
and peace hangs them.*

—English proverbs.

To Koreans, June 25 is an unforgettable day. The unwanted Korean War that broke out 12 years ago this day (1950) and lasted for three years and one month until Armistice was signed on July 27, 1953 brought unto Korea a thorough destruction never experienced before in her long history.

This was an entirely new type of war different from previous wars in many aspects. First of all, it was a deputy war in which weapons, ammunitions and equipments were supplied by foreign powers and Korean units were incited to fight under the direction of foreign military consultants. Secondly and as natural for a deputy war, it was fought not for the interests of Koreans but for those of the foreign powers which lied couched in the background with aims of expanding or safeguarding their own power blocs. For this account and thirdly, the war developed into an international conflict as the foreign powers in the background were drawn into the conflict when the war became really hot and its front expanded. The battleground, however, was limited to the Korean peninsula which later give birth to the military concept of "limited war". So, lastly, armed units of 19 nations using the most modern of weapons including jet-fighters engaged in a deadly struggle within a narrow area of 220,000 sq. kilometers and committed incomparable mass slayings and destructions that turned the Korean peninsula into the most horrible living-hell in the history of mankind.

Hollow Hellish War

What did such hellish war bring unto Korea, the participant nations and humanity itself? Koreans, of course, were the most tragical victims of the belligerence. More than 3,000,000 Korean soldiers and civilians were killed or wounded in this East versus West battle that waged on so fiercely and wearily crossing up and down the 38th parallel four times. Bombs and shells that exploded on Korean soil amounted to a tremendous volume of 1,500,000 tons and reduced 80% of the land to ashes.

As regards the 16 participant nations in the U.N. forces, the United States suffered the most. Its direct war expenses reached a colossal sum of 20 billion dollars and according to U.N. figures, 144,173 American soldiers were killed or wounded; while the casualties of the 15 remaining nations counted 17,250 men.

As to the damages of Communist China, it is still unknown exactly how much money it spent in the expedition, but estimates place the total expenses of the Communist side at more than 10 billion dollars and in view of the Chinese "human wave" operations, their casualties were estimated at no less than 1,000,000 men.

Unification: To Prevent Another Korean War

Now what were the changes that this war which devoured so much human lives, properties and materials bring unto the Korean peninsula? Strange as it seems, the 38th parallel that had divided Korea into north and south before the war still remained with a new title of "Armistice Line" given to it and little bumps and dents marked along the line. And rival forces confronting each other there have been built up into numbers five times as great and with devastating powers of a thousand-fold to aggravate the situation to newly dangerous points.

So, the sad fact is that the millions of lives and billions of dollars of properties lost in the Korean War were spent in vain only to perpetuate the division of Korea; deepen the sorrows of the Korean nation; increase the threats to world peace and intensify the unease of mankind.

Some might denounce such a view as a profanity against the souls of those who fell in the fighting. But to put up such charges is quite irrelevant and based on shallow sentimentalism. We often hear that the Korean War was an honorable war in which people fought to defend freedom or a particular way of living and that the war had strengthened the solidity of the free world or the socialist camp. And when its anniversary comes around, we always see pompous ceremonies being held where praises like "champions of freedom" or "heroes of socialism" are sung to the dead soldiers. Such splendid ceremonies and praises, however, only ring in our ears as well-calculated verses and plays composed and directed by cold and selfish exploit-

ers of human suffering.

A glance at the present situation in Korea will clearly show the point. Another cruel dictatorship has emerged there to terrorize the Korean nation in the name of guarding freedom and democracy. Power-hungry men are again plotting intrigues there to stir up another Korean War for the sake of preserving their own positions and of serving the interests of war merchants who seek to profit through wars at the cost of the lives of others.

It must be noted that the state of present-day Korea has vastly changed from that before the Korean War. Both North and South Korea have concluded mutual defense treaties with their respective allies. South Korea is aligned with the United States, while North Korea has concluded military alliances with Soviet Russia and Communist China. This means that should either Korea be attacked from the other party, all of these powers will be immediately drawn into the conflict. So, once war breaks out in Korea again, it will undoubtedly spell the doom not only of the Korean nation but of the entire mankind as well.

The situation in Korea, therefore, renders it highly imperative that another Korean War must be absolutely prevented regardless of any justifying cause. The only way to prevent a total catastrophe is to reunify Korea. Korean unification, therefore, is an urgent task not only of Koreans but the entire mankind as well. And through unification alone will mankind pay tribute to the souls of those who fell in that tragical war.

LESSONS OF THE KOREAN WAR

Necessity of Disengagement in Asia

The Korean War was a meaningless conflict which only brought about irreparable losses and destruction to Korea. But being a deputy and limited war serving the cold war interests of the Big Powers, some elements made vast gains. The never-ending cold war has made this type of war to spread to other parts of Asia and the situation is threatening recurrence of another Korean War which eventually will develop into a world conflict. Military disengagement in Asia, therefore, is the urgent and drastic measure to prevent such catastrophe.

Unforgettable War

Epoch-making. Twelve years have passed since the day on which the Korean War broke out and nine years since it terminated. In this present-day world where international situation is changing so violently, this war might have been forgotten long ago as a local conflict fought in the narrow Korean peninsula of far-flung Asia or put away as an unpleasant memory. But, contrarily, this war remains a vivid and bitter memory in the minds not only of Koreans but also of all the nations of the world.

The Korean War developed into a big-scaled international warfare in which armed units of 19 nations participated. Besides the fact that the 19 nations were engaged in a deadly struggle in this narrow area, the Korean War became an epoch-making war in the annals of mankind's history of wars.

Characteristics. The following are the notable characteristics of this war:

(1) The Korean War was the first East versus West hot war that arose from the cold war rivalry that developed after World War II.

(2) It was also the first collective war fought by forces carrying the banners of the United Nations on one side.

(3) It, however, was a "limited war" in

which the battlegrounds were confined within the Korean peninsula.

(4) Jet fighters appeared for the first time and numerous newly invented post-war weapons were also used in combats. A new record was broken in relation to the volume of bombs, cannon shells and rifle bullets dropped and fired into per unit area.

(5) War damages and casualty rate of civilians reached the highest in the annals of all wars.

(6) And yet, a final settlement could not be gained despite the fact that Armistice was signed after 3 years of belligerence and, therefore, military build-up by both sides have been going on at a vastly higher pace than before the war.

Having been a war with such characteristics and complexities and as present conditions in Korea involve dangers of its recurrence, the attention of the world has been focused on this threatening spot. Though natural, the interests and concern held by the Korean nation which was its greatest victim, are far more intense and bitter and Koreans will never forget the war as long as the nation exists.

Victims Like "Sawdust"

Incomparable Damages. The damages suffered by the Korean nation in this war which began on June 25, 1950 and end-

ed on July 27, 1953 are incomparable in terms of the number of casualties, the scope of destruction and the intensity of the miseries brought about. There were, though rarely, civil wars in the past that fathers and sons, brothers and sisters killed each other. But there have never been another strife so tragical as the Korean War, for this war that started as a supposed civil war developed into a deadly struggle between two Koreas assisted by powerful foreign armies and eventually caused more than one-tenth of the entire nation to be killed or wounded in the combats.

Up and Down the Peninsula. Three days after the outbreak of the war, the South Korean capital of Seoul already fell into the hands of the North Korean army and ROK President Syngman Rhee and his Government fled southward along with the retreating South Korean army in the direction of Taegu and Pusan. The United States immediately despatched a forward division under the name of United Nations Forces and taking over the command of all ROK forces, sought to stem the tide of the onrushing North Korean Communists. But, failing in the operation, the ROK and U.S. forces were hemmed in in the Pusan area—a narrow delta of only 10,000 square kilometers of land. In a month's operation, the North Korean forces had occupied about nine-tenths of the entire South Korean territory.

At the end of July, however, the U.N. forces composed of units from 16 nations and spearheaded by U.S. forces, began an all-out counter-offensive after rebuilding their lines. U.S. jet fighters appeared in Korean skies. Japan-based B29 bomber squadrons conducted indiscriminate carpet bombings on targets not only in North Korea but South Korea as well excepting Taegu and Pusan; while Saber-jet fighters straffed the North Korean lines with machine guns and rockets.

On Sept. 15, 1950, the U.N. Forces supported by the powerful U.S. Seventh Fleet succeeded in a mass landing operation at Inchon, recaptured Seoul on Sept. 28 and proceeded to the 38th parallel. A problem

arose as to whether the U.N. Forces whose task by nature was to secure peace, should cross the parallel or not. But U.N. Commander-in-Chief, General Douglas MacArthur doing an expanded construction of the U.N. General Assembly resolution on Korea, gave the green-light to cross the line. The U.N. Forces moved into an all-out offensive, captured Pyongyang, capital of North Korea, on Oct. 17 and stepped up their advance to the banks of the Yalu River constituting the border-line between Korean and China.

No sooner than the U.N. Forces reached the Korean-Chinese border, Communist China intervened and sent a gigantic "Help-Korea Anti-American People's Voluntary Army" into Korea. Two decisive battles were fought between the U.N. and Communist forces at Kaechun in Pyungan-buk province and Changjin in Hamkyung-nam province. Routed in these battles, the U.N. Forces fled southward in total retreat and, in December, the oncharging Communist forces again crossed the 38th parallel and on Jan. 4, 1951, Seoul fell into their hands once more.

The U.N. Forces that retreated further southward after abandoning Seoul, regrouped at the 37th parallel and began another counter-offensive. By early April, U.N. Forces reoccupied Seoul and pressed forward until they reached the vicinity of the 38th parallel.

But, the defense lines the Communists had formed thereon north were unbreakable and the war became deadlocked. From then until the Armistice, an exhaustive warfare waged on wherein both sides retaliated with fierce attacks on the other's entrenchments, while the U.N. Forces continued their indiscriminate bombings on North Korean targets and the Communists fought back with their speciality—the human wave operations.

Ripped by Saws. In such manner, the Korean peninsula was literally ripped by the sharp saws of violent battles that waged on for three long years up and down the peninsula. And the "sawdust" that fell from the ruthless saws were Koreans whose

soil unfortunately became the battleground.

Casualties and Damages

3,000,000 Korean Casualties. Now let us see the extent of the damages and casualties suffered by Koreans in the war. Before going into the figures, it must be noted that figures of war results always differ between those given by the opponents, and as final settlement has not been attained in the case of the Korean War, it is especially difficult to grasp the exact figures on the damages and destructions inflicted. So, exact figures are still not available, but the following figures can be taken as the closest possible, as they are estimates based on the figures announced by the U.N. and Communist authorities and also the surveys conducted by both North and South Korea after the war.

First of all, we must look into the casualties suffered by Koreans. The total number of Koreans (north and south included) killed or wounded was estimated at no less than 3,000,000 or one-tenth of the entire Korean population. Civilians, of course, were included in the number and due especially to the indiscriminate bombings, the ratio of civilian casualties in comparison to the military ran high reaching nearly 50%.

Secondly, we must observe the number of persons who suffered war damages. Although the number differed by districts, 80 % of the entire ROK population suffered direct or indirect damages; while those suffered by North Koreans reached 90% and more than 500,000 children became war-orphans.

Such incomparable damages resulted because the Korean War was not the ordinary type of war that ended when either side gained a decisive victory over the other but an exhaustive "steamroller" type of war that was staged up and down and throughout the entire Korean peninsula.

Thirdly, the damages on Korean properties. Houses destructed or damaged in South Korea counted 500,000; while North Korea lost 800,000 houses (40%), making the total 1,300,000 houses. 50% of indus-

trial, transportation, communication, educational and medical facilities and production installations in South Korea were damaged or destroyed; while the same damages in North Korea reached the astonishing figure of 70%.

20 Billion Dollars. Let us next see the human and material losses suffered by the foreign powers that participated in this war which claimed so many Korean lives, and devastated so much of Korean property.

As to the human casualties suffered by the U.N. forces, those of the U.S. counted 144,173 men killed or wounded; while those of other 15 nations totalled 17,260. These were figures given by the U.N.

As to the war expenses, the U.S. spent some 20 billion dollars, counting only the direct expenses. Some sectors where all this money went: 600,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Korean soil. Some 300 million bullets and cannon shells were fired. These figures by the way, surpassed the amount of bombs and shells used by the U.S. forces in its war in the Pacific during World War II. And the total volume of bombs, cannon shells and rifle bullets used by the U.N. Forces during the Korean War reached the astonishing figure of 15,000,000 tons. The total volume of war materials such as tanks, cannons, petroleum etc. (including ammunitions) counted 35,000,000 tons.

1,000,000 Chinese Casualties. Nextly, how much were the damages that the Communists suffered in comparison to the tremendous losses on the U.N. side? It is far more difficult to grasp the exact damages on the Communist side since no overall announcement was ever made by them. The different manner in which they operated the war also renders the task to get the exact figures more difficult. Nevertheless, in view of their human wave tactics, estimates have placed the casualties of the Communist Chinese forces including 100,000 prisoners of war, at more than 1,000,000. And as the Communists fought on an equal footing with the U.N. Forces, their war expenses were estimated at no less than

10 billion dollars.

Causes and Gains

Who Fired First? As we have seen above, the damages suffered by the Korean nation far exceeded per capita those of Germany or Japan during the last World War. U.S. damages corresponded to those it suffered in the Pacific War and those of Communist China far surpassed the losses during the 4 years of its Revolutionary War. The questions that always come up here are: who started the Korean War and why did the war break out? The former question stirred up heated controversies not only among Koreans but also between the free and Communist worlds, and, up to this day the Western side has accused North Korea as the aggressors; whereas the Communists have charged South Korea as the one who fired the first shot.

As in all wars, there definitely was the aggressor who provoked the war and fired the first shot. In view of the unprecedented damages and destruction brought about, it is quite natural that one wishes to find out who was responsible for igniting the war. And someday Koreans will find out the truth. But under the present circumstances wherein final settlement of the war has not been gained as yet and fully armed armies are still confronting one another, it is impossible to pursue the responsibilities of the war and all efforts in that direction will end up in blaming each other. Moreover, such efforts will stir up ill feelings between North and South Korea and also between the East and West so that not only the final settlement of the war will be prolonged but, if things go bad, another Korean War may be ignited.

So, the most urgent task now is to explore the real causes of the war instead of pursuing its responsibilities. Then what are the causes that brought about this war?

Primary Cause: Artificial Division.

As in the case of the responsibilities of the war, contradicting arguments have also been raised in relation to the causes of the war. In short, the primary cause of the

Korean war was the "artificial division" of Korea as clearly pointed out by the U.N. Commission of Korea's report of Sept. 4, 1950. The Big Powers that split and occupied Korea in 1945 could not reach an agreement on the formula of realizing unification and independence of Korea. As the U.N. Commission's report pointed out, the attitude of the Korean nation had little to do with the failure of reunifying Korea. It was due to the Big Powers. The split and control policies of the Big Powers aided by the maneuvers carried out by the national traitors that collaborated with those policies from personal interests were to blame.

The Korean War, therefore, was an intrigue plotted by these international conspirators and the power-hungry men of Korea who sought to utilize Korea as a means to resolve their domestic troubles or to maintain their power by aggravating the tensions in Korea. And, if things went well, these selfish men hoped to bring the whole of Korea under their control. These intentions can be observed by a close analysis of the results of the Korean War.

Solidity of Both Camps. It is an interesting question to find out which camp, which country and which class within those camps and countries gained the most by this war. The question is also very important from the standpoint of preventing recurrence of the Korean War.

Japan which was a spectator of the war, for instance, earned 2.4 billion dollars of foreign exchange and secured the basis for her post-war reconstruction. West Germany too made exorbitant profits. The other countries which participated directly or gave some sort of helping hand in the war suffered losses and it is particularly important to know which class within those countries suffered the most.

We often hear that the most impressive results of the Korean War were the solidifications of the Free and Communist blocs and also that leaderships of the U.S. and Soviet Union within those camps were established through this war. If the period prior to the war is recalled, it can easily

be seen that neither the Free World nor the Communist bloc were firmly united as yet. Yugoslavia had dissented from the Socialist bloc and the unity of the Western countries was far from ready to meet the Communist challenges.

The Korean War brought successive births to such Western defense organizations as the NATO, Baghdad Treaty Pact (present CENTO) and the SEATO which consolidated the collective defense structure of the Free World and also established the leadership of the U.S. In the case of the Communists, Soviet Russia could not stop Yugoslavia from breaking away and there was also the problem of Communist China. This new Communist state that appeared in 1949 ventured into the Korean War in face of its shanty resources. Still it fought so unexpectedly to establish itself as a new power among the giants and later to become a challenger to the Soviet hegemony.

Abstract Gains by Communists.

Therefore, it could be said that the Free World led by the U.S. gained more from the Korean War than the Socialist bloc led by the Soviet Union. The point can be seen in the domestic gains made by these countries. The supposed gains made by Soviet Russia were not very big. They were pointed out as: (1) relative increase in its national resources since the U.S. expended so much of its resources; (2) it was able to impress the cruelty of the United States on the world and (3) utilized the chance to condemn the bellicosity of American capitalists. The Chinese Communist gains pointed out were: (1) completion of its national unity by unifying the national mind and (2) modernization of its army. These gains by Soviet Russia and Communist China were more or less of abstract nature.

Concrete Gains by Free World.

In contrast, the gains made by the U.S. were much more concrete. The following were the gains attributed to the United States: (1) the war helped the U.S. to offset the impending depression. U.S. industries on the verge of bankruptcy were

reactivated and unemployment decreased from 3,500,000 in 1950 to 1,670,000 in 1952 which warded off the ensuing social unrest; (2) it provided the U.S. the opportunity to propagandize the aggressiveness of the Communists and also reembark on a mass rearmament drive; (3) it enabled the U.S. to urge the Western powers to accelerate their anti-Communist defense build-up and to put these powers in the world framework of the U.S. defense system and (4) it offered pretext for the U.S. to conclude a unilateral peace treaty with Japan and secure military bases in that country.

Savior of Rhee Regime. The differences in the gains attained by North and South Korea corresponded to the difference between the U.S. and the Communist countries of Soviet Russia and Communist China. Many claimed that the Korean War was ignited by the ambition of the North Korean regime which sought to conquer South Korea by taking advantage of the incompetence and weakness of the South Korean Syngman Rhee regime. But as the war ended in a stalemate, all that was attributed as North Korean gains were the strengthening of the Kim Il-Sung regime and its military structure.

In vast contrast, the profits earned by the Syngman Rhee regime were immense. First of all, this government that was completely forsaken by the nation gained unexpected revival. Secondly, the leaders of the Rhee regime and the comprador capitalists of South Korea who had become international orphans and were in ruins, reestablished their hierarchy through the foreign aids and also amassed enormous fortunes. Thirdly, these rulers of South Korea were enabled to boost their air, land and sea forces up to 700,000 men in comparison to the 100,000 men before the war, on the pretext of anti-Communism. In other words, the Syngman Rhee faction made up of the feudal privileged class and comprador capitalists of South Korea were saved from eventual ruin and enabled by the war to maintain their ruling positions.

There is a grave fact which should be noted here. In contrast to the profits gain-

ed by the big powers and the privileged class of South Korea backed by those powers, the general public of these countries including the big powers did not gain anything. And especially the Korean people of both north and south whose soil became the battlegrounds for 3 long years, were plunged into the most miserable state conceivable and the damages suffered are still painfully felt nine years since the war terminated.

Diffusion of

Deputy and Limited Wars

New Type of War. This war that brought gains to a few and misery to many, on the other hand, was an entirely new type of war which gave birth to the new military concepts of "deputy war" and "limited war." As stated above, the Korean War began as a deputy war in which North and South Koreans were incited to fight for the interests of the East and West power blocs that they belonged to and as the battlegrounds were limited to the Korean peninsula, it was a typical limited war. Although troops from 19 nations belonging to six continents were engaged in the struggle, the combats were confined within the peninsula and neither side ever extended attacks to those military bases outside Korea.

From the present-day concept of "total war," this was a strange phenomenon and quite outrageous to Koreans whose sacrifices multiplied for that sake. The concept of such war no longer considers war as a necessary evil to resolve a certain conflict within the shortest possible time. It, on the contrary, calculates the existence of a state of belligerence necessary for certain purposes and for that account, it evades areas possessing dangers of the war expanding or areas difficult to hold under control. So, necessarily, this type of war selects countries where war can be easily provoked and controlled and, once war is started, it is apt to wage on for a long period within that restricted area.

Unfortunately, it seems that Korea was selected as the first test spot for such a

war and more regrettably, this deputy and limited war tried and proved effective in Korea has been spread into other areas like a contagious disease.

Korean Unification and Military Disengagement

Congo, Laos and Vietnam. Following the Korean War, deputy wars were staged in Congo, Laos and Vietnam. The Congolese war did not develop beyond a deputy war but those in Laos and South Vietnam are said to possess dangers of trespassing the limits of deputy wars and developing into limited wars to be participated by the powers lying behind the native forces.

But can the warfare in these sectors be confined within the concept of limited wars if the situation should aggravate so much so that foreign troops will be drawn in and foreign military operations carried out from bases outside? Would not the warfare in Laos or South Vietnam be combined into one war front? And would not the war, eventually, spread to the Korean peninsula since the ROK military government has promised a common front with the rightwing governments of these two countries?

Now if the warfare should spread to Korea, the belligerences can hardly be held down within these three areas, for both North and South Korea are now tied to powerful military pacts in addition to the powerful armies they themselves possess which indicates that an all-out world war is inevitable.

Military Disengagement in Asia. Therefore, it must be stressed that it is the common task of the entire mankind to prevent the recurrence or intensification of warfare in these three areas of Korea, Laos and Vietnam. And for that purpose, drastic measures should be considered taking special notice of the irresponsible and bellicose rulers of these areas who by assuming themselves as the front guards of the East and West power blocs, are intensifying tensions in these sectors.

(Cont. on Page 21)

MILITARY REGIME SHAKEN UP

Counter-coup, Inner Feud and Boycott

An alleged counter coup plot involving Democratic leaders and military men was recently uncovered by the militarists. This plot which smells of a frame-up, plus the Park versus Song feud going on in the military regime and the stubborn boycott of the mass purge law by ex-political leaders have shaken up the military government already isolated from the nation.

Counter-coup Plot and Firing of 1st Army Commander

Frame-up. The military government recently announced the arrest of 41 persons on charges of plotting a counter-coup and assassination of the present military government leaders. Col. Kim Chong-Pil, director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), said, in making the announcement, that the plotters were primarily leaders of the deposed Democratic Party. Kim Sang-Don, former Democratic Assemblyman and Seoul City mayor, former Democratic organization chief Cho Jung-Suh and party spokesman Kim Dae-Jung were given as those involved in the plot.

Well-informed sources, however, deny such allegation and claim that the charges were a frame up on the Democratic leaders. The arrests were made on the heels of the dismissal of 1st Army commander Lt. Gen. Park Im-Hang. So, these sources hold the view that the real source of the commotion was the 1st Army and the Democrats were rounded up merely as scapegoats to cover up for the unease within the army.

Traces of Frame-up. In his announcement, CIA chief Kim gave the following story: "The plot was begun sometime around November last year with military men participating too. The central figure of the conspiracy was Cho Jung-Su and their plan was to stage the coup on June 13 and restore civil government by August 15. They also planned to enlist five regiments of the frontline army and one anti-aircraft battalion of the reserve

units to take over the capital. 1,500-man KLO guerilla force led by In Sun-Chang of the White Robe Society was to be mobilized too."

This announcement contains traces of a frame-up. The KLO and the White Robe Society were names of organizations notorious in Korea for their terrorisms in the past. The White Robe Society formed back in 1945 by Koreans of North Korean origin was identified with many cases of ultra-nationalists incidents. The KLO guerilla unit formed by the U.S. army during the Korean War with North Korean refugees was dropped behind the enemy lines to engage in intelligence and subversive activities. Another organization by the name of Northwest Youths' Association mentioned by the CIA chief, was also an anti-Communist terrorist organization composed of youths who fled into South Korea from the north.

These organizations were disbanded by Syngman Rhee and no longer exist. The short-lived KLO, in no ways, could enlist 1500 men as alleged. Many, therefore, point out that the names of these bogus organizations were brought up to paint the plot like a really dirty conspiracy and thus offset the anti-junta mood mounting within the nation. The point alone shows that the alleged plot was a frame up.

Scapegoats. Cho Jung-Suh is an outspoken man who might have spoken ill words against the military government but

being a peaceful man, he certainly wouldn't have resorted to such a extreme method. Kim Sang-Don is also known for his big talks but being a pious Christian, it is quite impossible to connect him with such a bloody plot.

Furthermore, these politicians have never worked together before. So, the junta must have rounded up these loose-tongued men, bunched them together into one group and pinned a counter-coup story on them. These men, in other words, were very likely selected as scapegoats to teach other ex-political leaders who had so stubbornly boycotted the Political Activities Purification Law a lesson.

Firing of 1st Army Commander. According to a well-informed South Korean who recently stopped over in Tokyo, 1st Army commander Lt. Gen. Park Im-Hang who was relieved from his post on May 7, is presently being held under house arrest guarded by the Central Intelligence Agency and eventually may be relieved of his membership in the junta too. The source thinks that the dismissal was due to suspicion of attempting a counter-coup.

Feud Between Junta and 1st Army. The 1st Army has always been showing resistance against the junta and it composes the biggest threat to Park Chung-Hee's hegemony. A day after the May 16th coup, it may be recalled, 1st Army commander Lt. Gen. Lee Hal-Lim issued the so-called neutral statement wherein he made it clear that the military should not meddle in politics and that the 1st Army should concentrate on guarding the 155-mile frontier.

The officers and men of the 1st Army bear grudge against the present junta leaders because they were not solicited to join in the May 16 takeover of the Chang Myun Government. They also look down on the junta men as inferior rear line officers who went on to satisfy their frustrations and hunger for power by using the guns on their shoulders.

The treatment of the 1st Army, therefore, was the most headaching problem for Park Chung-Hee and his men in drawing up the coup d'etat plan. If the 1st Army

officers were solicited, there lied dangers that the initiative might fall into the hands of 1st Army officers. So, Park and his men decided to limit the cooperation of the 1st Army to a passive role.

Undercover Agents. The coup group worked on the 1st Army through two routes. One was through 1st Army chief staff officer Lt. Col. Lee Chong-Keun and five other intelligence officers of the 1st Army. The other route was through then commanders of the 5th Corps Lt. Gen. Park Im-Hang; 5th Division commander Brig. Gen. Chai Myung-Shin and 12th Division commander Brig. Gen. Park Chun-Sik. When the coup finally came about, it was the five intelligence officers of the 1st Army that responded immediately and brought their commander Lt. Gen. Lee Hal-Lim to Seoul.

The work on the 1st Army by the coup plotters reportedly was begun as early as Oct. 1960 but it was not until a few days before the coup that the two undercover groups found out that there were other agents besides themselves within the 1st Army. The three commanders did not know that other commanders than themselves were involved. The information and instructions to these agents were vague and delayed too. Col. Lee Chong-Keun recalls: "Out first attempt to take over the 1st Army headquarters failed mostly because the revolutionary command did not relay us the necessary informations quick enough." The task consigned to these agents apparently was to prevent the 1st Army from sending troops to quench the coup d'etat.

Discrimination. Through such extreme caution, the coup leaders limited the role of the 1st Army to a minor one. The caution became more tight after the coup and all these agents within the 1st Army were transfered to unimportant or remote positions. The leading agent in the 1st Army Col. Cho Chang-Tai is presently sulking as an intelligence section chief in the Home Ministry while other three Lt. colonels were sent out as local CIC officers. The generals of the 1st Army who helped

in the cause were rewarded with equal unjustfulness and transferred to unimportant posts (excepting Lt. Gen. Park Im-Hang).

Anti-junta Sentiment Mounting. In vast contrast, all high and important posts of the junta and the military regime were divided among the central force of the coup plotters, especially among the "group of nine" or the Park Chung-Hee faction composed of Kim Chong-Pil, Ok Chang-Ho, Kim Hyung-Uk, Park Won-Bin, Kil Jai-Ho and others. Such discrimination has caused the officers and men of the 1st Army to bear grudge against the junta and they cannot tolerate their inferiors and less competent men bossing over them.

Lt. Gen. Park Im-Chang was promoted by Park Chung-Hee to the post of commander of the 1st Army for his merits in the takeover. Park Chung-Hee considered

him the only officer powerful enough to control the 1st Army. But Park Im-Hang apparently could not hold down the discontent of the 1st Army men and perhaps too got tired of acquiescing to the orders of strongmen Park who used to be his inferior. So, the general may have attempted a counter-coup and failing in the attempt was relieved from his post.

All things considered, the recent alleged anti-state plot charged on the Democrats seems more like a frame-up. The dismissal of 1st Army commander Lt. Gen. Park Im-Chang is likely connected with the arrests. The intention of the junta in framing and playing up such stories, therefore, was to put a check on the anti-junta sentiment growing among the politicians and the men of the 1st Army as well.

Feud Between Park and Song

Dismissal of Song? Rumors that Premier Song might be relieved from his post are going around once more. The speculations were rekindled by the statement made by Supreme Council spokesman Lee Hu-Rak on May 19. The spokesman pointed out in his news conference that Chairman Park will take such measures to brace up the government officials and also the people whose morales have loosened up recently. And asked by newsmen whether the measures meant reshuffling of the government, Lee replied that "although he did not know anything about government reshuffling, the cleanup of ranking government officials will be carried out as warned by the Chairman." Seoul sources predict that Premier Song might get fired after all since the spokesman did not deny the government reshuffling.

Differences on Policies. Reports indicating bitter feud between Park and Song have been heard since last November. The two reportedly are sharply opposed on the policy towards Japan. Park and his right-hand man Central Intelligence Agency chief Kim Chong-Pil are for early accords with

Japan; while Song endorses a more gradual approach. Foreign Minister Choi Duk-Shin, by the way, takes a middle position in between. Premier Song who shares the bitterness of Koreans toward Japan, blasted the insincere attitude of the Japanese government last August when special envoy Kim Yu-Taik returned from Japan after consulting Japanese leaders. Park who thinks South Korea can only be reconstructed by gaining early economic assistance from Japan, despatched CIA chief Kim to Japan last November to pave the way for the Park-Ikeda talks held when Park stopped over in Tokyo on his way to the United States.

In regards to the problem of bonded manufactured goods trade between Japan and South Korea, Song stressed that normalization of diplomatic relations should precede any economic cooperation; while Park contended that economic cooperation should be settled at once regardless of the progress of normalization talks.

Song's Discontent. Premier Song who served as martial law commander during the crucial hours of the April 1950 up-

risings, prides himself as the savior of the nation who brought the chaos under control and believes that the nation holds deep trust in him. He also thinks himself most strongly favored by the Americans among the present military leaders. So, Song cannot tolerate his present position of being used as a stooge by Park Chung-Hee whom he had helped so much when the latter was his junior officer in days prior to the coup d'état.

On Park's side, it was not out of sheer trust that he called Song back from the United States to hire him as defense minister and later as premier. Park's objective, no doubt, was to enlist Song's influence and prestige to provide a front for the military regime then composed only by men of obscurity. But now that Park himself has won U.S. support, he would rather get rid of outsider Song and solidify the military regime with his own henchmen.

Showdown Nearby. Fearing Song's influence, Park has put on a tight check on Song so much so that he is completely isolated within the military regime without one compatriot or follower to back him. Song's former aides and friendly politicians were all put in prison or dismissed from office. Park Byung-Bae, ex-Vice Defense Minister of Chang Myun Government, came to Japan in the last days of the Chang Myun administration with a secret plan to stage a coup d'état enlisting Song Yo-Chan as its leader but beaten to it by Park Chung-Hee, he returned to South Korea following Premier Song's return from the United States. Enemies, however, were

in wait and getting arrested immediately, he was put on trial for anti-revolutionary activities and sent to 8 years in prison. Brig. Gen. Kim was the closest aide and friend to Song. Still he was arrested on the charge of illicit dealings of military goods and put away in prison until release last November.

The mal-treatment was more or less from political reasons, for the crime charged was not very conspicuous as compared to the illegal transactions and corruption that prevailed in the army. Park Chung-Hee whom the militarists play up as the most honest general in the army, in fact, could hardly claim himself clear of all corruption. According to reports from Seoul, recent findings is said to have uncovered that Park Chung-Hee was about to be investigated involving a bribery case that occurred during the Chang administration. A National Assembly investigation team was informed at Taegu by a certain person that General Park had taken bribes. Park luckily had a close friend among the Assemblymen and getting immediate notice is said to have moved fast to stifle the case and thus save his prestige.

All things considered, the feud between Chairman Park and Premier Song is bound to grow intense. Although it is difficult to predict the outcome as yet, a showdown between the two seems quite nearby. Park and his followers, no doubt, would like to settle the matter peacefully, but if Song should be relieved from the premiership, a big shake-up will surely ensue.

Politicians Boycott Mass Purge Law

Unexpected Resistance. The mass arrest of former Democratic Party members for plotting an anti-military coup d'état seems more like a maneuver to teach the conservative political leaders a lesson for boycotting the recent Political Activities Purification Law. The politicians boycotted the screening under the purge law,

as the law made it clear that the government transfer in the summer of next year will be no restoration of civilian rule but extension of the military dictatorship. The resistance against the purge law was unexpectedly stubborn.

Among the 4,374 politicians listed in the three blacklists, those who applied for the

screening counted 2,950 at the final deadline of April 30. This is 67.8% of the total, but considering all the threatening and persuasion done by the militarists in rounding up that much, the number was far from satisfying to the militarists. And what was most humiliating to them was that not a single ex-politician of worth responded to the militarists' call.

As of April 7, only 57 persons had applied and on April 9 the number barely reached 532, most of which were not ex-politicos but former officials of social organizations like religious and academic associations. The poor showing put a scare on the militarists, for the primary objective of the purge law was to keep unificationists out of future politics.

Opportunists. The names of those who applied for the screening indicate the type of politicians who are in support of the militarists. At the original deadline of April 15, ex-members of the Liberal Party led the pack of applicants with 840 persons, followed by 499 ex-New Democrats and 382 ex-Democrats. Those who belonged to former minor progressive parties counted 109, while 354 were formal local assemblymen. The overwhelming number of Liberals indicates the sector of the nation that feels itself most akin to the militarists.

Those who applied were all selfish opportunists. A number of high officials of the Rhee Government were among the applicants led by Kim Chun-Yun, Lee In, Chun Jin-Han and Paik Du-Chin. These men had already attained high positions under Syngman Rhee and their sole aim now is to get back into power regardless of the humiliations to be tolerated.

Boycott by Conscientious Politicians. Conscientious and patriotic politicians like former New Democratic Party chairman Kim Do-Yun, former National Assembly speaker Kwak Sang-Hun and former Assembly vice-speaker Su Min-Ho did not apply for the screening. By rejecting the screening by the militarists who took over the legitimate government and dispersed the National Assembly so unlaw-

fully, these men have finally lived up to their names and fulfilled their least duty to the electorate that entrusted the governing of the state to them. Those politicians who could not keep this least fidelity towards their electorate will undoubtedly be dismissed by the nation as lowly opportunists never to be trusted.

Liberals Top Politicians Qualified. The Supreme Council announced on May 30 its screening results of ex-politicians who applied to the screening committee. 1,336 ex-politicos were declared cleared to engage in future politics which is equal to 30.5% of the 4,357 politicians listed as liable for purge under the Political Purification Law and 45.1% of the 2,958 who applied for the screening. Of the 1,336 cleared, 46 were former National Assemblymen topped by 16 ex-Liberals, while 14 were New Democrats, 13 independents and 3 ex-Democrats. In the meantime, the 1,522 disqualified by the screening made the total of ex-politicians purged from politics until Aug. 15, 1968 add up to 3,031. The most remarkable point of the screening results was the vast "leniency" shown to the ex-Liberals.

Ex-Liberal Ministers Cleared. Ex-ministers and vice-ministers of the Syngman Rhee regime like, Lee In (justice minister), Park Hyon-Suk (minister without portfolio), Chun Jin-Han (welfare minister), Lee Sang-Yong (vice home minister), and Kim Yong-Sik (vice foreign minister) were all cleared. The Korean Press immediately commented: "It is claimed that no political reasons existed, but no one can agree that this ex-Liberal sub-committee chairman responsible for the 1960 rigged elections does not come under the category of "persons outstandingly responsible for corrupt politics." The chairman mentioned here is Lee Sang-Yong who was one of the authors of the rigged elections of 1960. The ex-Liberal assemblymen cleared such as Kim Chin-Won, Park Duk-Yung, Lee Sa-Hyung were all top officials of Syngman Rhee's party that oppressed and made the people suffer so much.

Opportunists Get By. Nine members of the New Tide Group of the New Democratic Party were also cleared. This group was the laugh of the nation during the Chang administration owing to its pseudo reformist movement symbolized by the notie corduroy uniforms worn by its members. These unprincipled men who called for unification before, have now turned pro-militarists and are even reported planning to endorse a nationwide movement to push Chairman Park Chung-Hee as candidate for the Presidency. The April 12 Donga Ilbo editorial condemned these ex-Assemblymen as "greyish opportunists" and warned the nation not to be fooled by them.

Among the 13 former New Democrat Assemblymen qualified, three men Shin Ha-Kyun, Cho Yun-Hyung and Kim Sang-Hum are sons of former leaders of the New Democratic and Democratic Parties. They were likely cleared from political strategy too. Another former Liberal Assemblyman Lee Kyo-Son cleared is the son of former Liberal vice-speaker of the National Assembly Lee Jae-Huk one of the authors of the unfair elections of 1960.

Another notorious figure qualified by the militarists is Kim Sung-Kon, president of the Orient Press. This character who amassed money through illicit dealings in the past is known as one of the foremost corrupt businessman of South Korea. The junta obviously couldn't help qualifying him for he is presently serving as adviser to the CIA.

Stooges of Military Dictatorship. The screening thus shows that the militarists are going to work with these dubious ex-Liberals deeply connected with the corruption under Syngman Rhee, corrupt businessmen like Kim Sung-Kon and unprincipled opportunists like the New Tide Group. The nation no doubt must have realized that a government to be formed by such stooges of the militarists would only be a continuation of the present dictatorship. Its only difference will be the cover of legality that will be offered it should the elections be held as the militarists hope. But it is very much doubtful that such election would ever be tolerated by the nation.

Downright Lies Before the IPI

At the International Press Institute conference held on May 15 and 16 in Paris, the South Korean delegate, Kim Sung-Kon, president of the Orient Press, reported that the late Cho Yong-Su, publisher of the Minjok Ilbo executed last Dec. by the ROK military regime and his two colleagues sent to life imprisonments were "Communists and had used the press as a tool for political objectives."

This was not only a thorough distortion of facts but also a traitorous act against the freedom of press. Suppression of free press was the main subject of the 10th IPI conference and special attention was focused on the situation in Asia where so many authoritarian governments have come into power.

Nevertheless, Kim dared to tell grave lies in front of the parley. Even the ROK Re-

volutionary Court could not prove that the defendants of the Minjok Ilbo Case were Communists. The act of Kim, therefore, constitutes not only a libel but profanity against the sanctity of the Institute.

This ex-left winger-turned pseudo-journalist is known in South Korea as one of the notorious illicit profiteers who amassed fortunes during the chaotic periods under Syngman Rhee and Chang Myun. Endangered of getting indicted, opportunist Kim sold his soul to the militarists and became an adviser to the ROK Central Intelligence Agency set up by the military junta. Kim, therefore, was apparently serving as mouthpiece of the militarists at the conference but the fact that Kim got away with such criminal action is highly reproachable.

A YEAR OF MILITARY RULE

Outrages, Frauds and Evils

Not one "revolutionary commitment" was fulfilled by the militarists during a year of rule. Outrages, frauds and evils are what they have been committing and now the nation has been reduced to a state so worn and devastated that total collapse seems imminent.

Outrages Confessed

Coup Plotted Month After Chang Myun Became Premier. The Seoul daily Hankook Ilbo recently carried retrospects of the military coup d'etat by the junta members. Two members, Ok Chang-Ho and Oh Chi-Song over-anxious in playing up their own merits in the coup, happened to let their tongues slip and reveal fatal inside facts about the takeover of the Chang Myun Government May 16 last year. Ok recollected in his reply to the paper:

"Nine of us—all Lt. colonels—listened intently to the powerful address made by Maj. Gen. Park Chung-Hee one night in mid-September of 1960 at his residence. He stressed the urgency for us to arise at all costs for the sake of saving the nation from decaying with factionalism profiteering and corruption. Convinced by the general's words, we (Lt. colonels Kim Chong-Pil. Oh Chi-Song. Kim Hyong-Ok. Kil Jae Ho, Ok Chang-Ho, Kim Dong-Hwan, Chong Mun-Sun, Shin Yun-Chang reached the decision that the only road for us was to rise and take over the Chang Myun Government." Oh recollected his experience in the same tone.

The junta members were perhaps unaware of the slip they were making or they no longer cared to be discreet, but their words have laid bare the outrage committed: The coup d'etat was already being plotted as early as a month after the Chang Myun Government was launched!

Chang was nominated to the premier-

ship by the National Assembly on Aug. 19, 1960 and his government was formed on Aug. 23. It was not until Sept. 29 that Chang made his inauguration speech. Incompetence and corruption of the Chang Myun Government has been given as the justification for the takeover, but how can anyone judge a government when it has not even made clear its policies? The lust for power, therefore, was the sole motive that incited these men to plot the takeover and go through with the adventure.

Sneak on Chang's Anti-riot Plan. Now whose responsibility was it that permitted such intrigue to succeed? In his confession statement issued last Aug. 16, ousted Premier Chang Myun listed (1) factionalism (2) excessive freedom (3) respect for democratic system and human rights (4) parliamentary system (5) paralyzation of police and investigation powers and (6) hasty demands of the people as the causes that invited the military coup. In other words, Chang meant to say that freedom, which in effect was the result of the respect for democratic system, was abused so much by the people that the military takeover came about. But such is shuffling responsibility to others, for it was the anti-democratic and anti-unification policies of the Chang regime that invited the nation's repulsion, and, therefore, constituted the major cause of permitting the military takeover.

No one now doubts the fact that the militarists took advantage of the "Operation Pigeon" planned by Chang Myun to

check the riots anticipated and forced through their takeover. And today the militarists are boasting that they had outwitted the hapless premier. A book by the name of "History of ROK Revolutionary Trials" was published recently. This book was written with the materials provided by Central Intelligence Agency boss Kim Chong-Pil., Joint Investigation chief Kim Jae-Chun, junta member Park Won-Bin and secretary to Chairman Park, Col. Lee Nak-Sung. It reads:

"In late February of 1961, General Park Chung-Hee and Lt. Col. Kim Chong-Pil after meeting then chief staff officer of the 6th Army District Command, set April 19 as the date to stage the coup and began organizing the necessary army units. At the time, rumors that crisis would come in March or April circulated. The anti-government struggles represented by the demonstration riots and the anti-vicious law struggles led by the progressives, were intensifying and the nation was in great peril. There were no hopes of bringing the situation under control by the police forces which had been slashed since the April Revolution. Bewildered by the developments, the Chang Myun Government drafted an "anti-riot crackdown" plan which included mobilization of the armed forces. The army summoned to the call and made preparations through emergency drills. It was speculated that the crisis would reach the highest in April especially around April 19 the first anniversary of the Revolution. Mass riots were expected to break out.

We took note of the chance to stage the coup by utilizing the Government's crackdown plan on riots and concentrated our efforts on buying over the commanders of the units assigned for mobilization. By the end of March, we succeeded in buying over all the commanders and through the efforts of Lt. cols, Kim Chong-Pil and Kim Hyong-Uk, we were able to deploy our compatriots in all key points of the operational command.

April 19, however, went by without much trouble and all our efforts to stage the coup on that day came to naught."

In this manner, the book definitely revealed the truth about the intrigue conspired by the Chang Myun Government. It, however, did not mention the roles Park Chung-Hee and Chang Do-Yung played in the joint conspiracy.

Thus the militarists themselves have now clearly made public the true motives of their coup d'etat. Hunger for power was the main urge that incited the Park Chung-Hee faction to usurp the government. Insolent as they are, the militarists no longer care what others may say against their unlawful actions of the past. So, it must be said that the justification of "saving the nation" or the "revolutionary commitments" were only pretexts to cover up for the outrage committed.

Not many Koreans ever expected the militarists to carry out their "revolutionary commitments" and a year of military rule was not needed to prove the point. At any rate, besides "strengthening the anti-Communist posture" (commitment no. 1), not one among the remaining five promises was ever kept. Corruption and evil are prevailing. People's hardships have been intensified. The restoration of civilian rule turned out to be a fraud.

Empty Promises

International Distaste. The militarists pledged to uphold the United Nations, abide by international agreements and further friendly ties with allies in their commitment no. 2. But dictatorships can never win friendship except distaste in the international society. Edward Wagner, ass. professor of Harvard University wrote in the Oct. 1961 issue of the Foreign Affairs: "In Korea today 16 years since United States set out to help instill the art of democratic self-government among its people, we find ourselves in partnership with an openly authoritarian regime. The South Korean military, so carefully nurtured as Asia's

finest free-world force, has defied its mentors and destroyed the country's free institutions." The News Week predicted that South Korea will eventually be ruined if the military government should reign too long. Chairman Park Chun-Hee himself was shown by Americans that dictators and militarists are not welcomed.

The U.S. government is, in truth, far from eager to bolster the military government. Americans would rather have such undemocratic government disposed of but their main interest to secure South Korea as an anti-Communist bulwark has kept the Americans to put up with the unpleasantry. This can be seen from the U.S. attitude towards the military government. The United States did not hold back assistance from the previous Chang Myun Government but is reluctant in offering any extra aid to the present military regime. The U.S. consented to negotiate on a status of forces agreement during the Democratic regime but has flatly turned down such request from the militarists on grounds that law is no longer respected by the present rulers of South Korea. So, the only reason that the U.S. does not reject the military government is because it wishes to avoid further confusion in South Korea which constitutes a vital link in the American defense line.

The United States worked hard behind the scenes to get Japan in sharing the burden of helping the ailing South Korean economy. Strong oppositions on both sides, however, shattered all hopes of early accord between the two countries. Koreans cannot tolerate the humiliating posture of the military government in approaching the problem while the Japanese are cautious towards cooperating with such an unstable and dictatorial government.

Cooperations with other free countries have not been very impressive either. The point can be seen in the poor showing of foreign investments in Korea in spite of the desperate soliciting being done by the militarists. Even illicit pro-

fiteers were enlisted and sent abroad to sell the militarists' plan to reconstruct South Korean economy. Only the U.S., West Germany and Italy have promised to offer some assistance but the measly amount would only cover one-third of the estimated foreign investments for the first year of the 5-year plan.

The military government went all-out to enlist the support of the Afro-Asian nations at the United Nations but its undemocratic and bellicose policies have bought the disgust of these nations. India and United Arab Republic have established diplomatic relations with both Koreas. The trend indicates that these powers are trying to find a breakthrough to the resolution of the Korean unification question. All in all, the "positive diplomacy" played up so much by the militarists have reaped more adverse results than positive ones, thereby isolating the militarists ever more into an "international orphan."

Fostering Evil. Commitment no. 3 was to root out corruption and past evils, establish a fresh atmosphere and thus increase the national patriotic spirit. Illicit profiteers have been the main source of corruption and past evils. Nevertheless, the militarists, against their initial policy, took these mal-contents under their wings and on top of restoring their privileges once taken up, have even sent these characters abroad as government representatives. The appeasement policy, however, backfired on the militarists and now the profiteers are despising the militarists. The profiteers were ordered to make up for their past wrongs by constructing new steel and fertilizer plants with their own resources but they sabotaged such orders by various excuses whereby the new plants will hardly come into existence.

The resurgence of hoodlums is another phenomena that indicates the prevalence of evil. This is another due fruit of the militarists' phony policy. Instead of rounding up these gangsters, the militarists are arresting newsmen who report on the rampancy of hooliganism.

According to the May 15th Hankook Ilbo, the number of crimes in Seoul during the year May 1961 to April 1962 totalled 49,599 cases, of which 60% was burglarly cases. Compare this to the total national burglarly cases of 13,718 during the year Sept. 1959 to Aug. 1960. The remarkable increase shows how bad living conditions have become under the military rule. Sharp rises in the number of armed robberies and counter feiting are notable too. The figures show that social unrest is increasing at a fast tempo.

Livelihood Worsens. Commitment no. 4 was to raise the over-all standards of living by developing the national economy through good planning. Relief for the impoverished farmers was the biggest social problem when the militarists emerged. They pledged to help the farmers by releasing farm operating funds and suspending payments of all usurious debts. A little amount of funds was released to the farmers but such stingy measure ended in throwing water on thirsty soil. The stinginess also caused the debt adjustment program to collapse. As no financial aid was provided to push the program, the farmers eventually could not clear their debts and have fallen back to borrow from the usurers again.

A public survey published by the headquarters of the National Reconstruction Movement on April 21 show that most of the petty farmers are unable to present guarantors and only 13% of their demands for operating funds is being met. So, the farmers must again turn to the usurers and they are said to be borrowing at high interest rates of 50 to 100%. Farmers are voicing discontent over the government collection of outputs, the high price and tardy rationing of fertilizers. The tight-fisted agricultural policy was bound to prove ineffective so much so that vice-chief of the Economic Planning Board Song had to admit: "the over-all income of farmers during January and February of 1962 decreased by 9% from that of the same period last year (during Chang Myun administration) and family budget deficits increased

by 2%." As the worsening of income and livelihood occurred in a bumper year, the militarists' agriculture policy must be a total flop. And reports say that the number of impoverished farmers with their ricebins empty have mounted to 3,700,000 households.

Living standards in the urban area has not improved either. A recent Bank of Korea survey found out that average monthly income and expenditure of wage-earners during 1961 decreased by 15,000 and 12,000 hwan respectively in comparison to the previous year and family budget deficits have jumped to 7,600 hwan per month. The Hankook Ilbo reported on April 4 that "over-all price index rose from 195 (1955=100) to 211.0 in March. Production rose to a peak of 139.7 (1958=100) at the end of 1951 but fell to 115 at the end of January 1962" and concluded: "This indicates that jobs are getting ever scarce and livelihood baddening."

The militarists have staked their destiny in the 5-year economic development plan. As predicted, the difficulties in inducing foreign investments have already bogged the plan down. Japanese economic co-operation was looked upon as the key factor in getting the plan rolling but the deadlock in the ROK-Japan talks has shattered all hopes of acquiring early assistance. The militarists have also pleaded to Korean businessmen residing in Japan to throw in their resources, but as one businessman who recently visited South Korea commented at Kimpo Airport: "I have no plans of bringing all my assets to Korea to invest in the enterprises neither before nor after the normalization of diplomatic relations between ROK and Japan." not many are interested in joining in the fantastic adventure.

Procurement of investments inside the country is making a poor showing too. Among the 493 billion hwan to be raised internally within 1962, 205.7 billion is to come from private sources, while the remaining 287.4 billion is to be provided by the government. The tremendous demand has caused the government to compile the

biggest deficit budget since the Korean War. Meanwhile one-fourth of the private investments was to be raised through the disposal of the confiscated properties of the illicit profiteers. But the militarists, in order to enlist the "creative" talents of these fortune-makers, changed their policy in time and requested them to offer spontaneous cooperation instead. The policy, however, apparently failed due to the sabotage by the profiteers. Wily and well-adept on matters of business as they are, the profiteers do not wish to stake their money in so risky an adventure.

The failure of squeezing money out of the profiteers' pockets has turned the militarists to impose compulsory savings and to intensify their tax-collecting drives on the nation. The 5-year plan has, in this way, put additional strains on the already over-burdened shoulders of the nation. The March 27 Chosun Ilbo wrote: "The 5-year economic development plan envisages an economic growth of 40.7% during the five-year period but the tax burden will double during the same period. This means that the public will have to pay more taxes at a higher rate than the growth rate. Finance Minister has stated that austerity will still be asked from the nation after completion of the plan." No wonder the nation has turned its back on the militarists' fantastic plan and we already hear

that the echoes of hammer are dying out at Ulsan, the projected industrial center where Park Chung-Hee had pressed the button to start the construction only a few months ago.

Anti-unification and Fake Government Transfer. Commitment no. 5 was to strive for national reunification by excelling in competition against the Communists. No. 6 was to transfer the government to new and conscientious politicians as soon as the tasks of the military revolution are accomplished. The militarists are dead against unification. For that sake, the militarists have murdered many patriots who worked to reunite the torn nation. The recent Political Activities Purification Law has shown how phony the promise of government transfer is. With all the powerful politicians purged by this most undemocratic law, strongman Park Chung-Hee himself might run in the Presidential race and a lot of military men is surely going to hitch a ride on the militarists' bandwagon with the grand design to dominate the National Assembly with military colors. No one will now doubt the fraudulence of the government transfer. The militarists are only going to take off their uniforms and change into civilian clothes. The appearance might change but grim and dreary military dictatorship will remain the same.

Lessons of The Korean War

(cont. from Page 10)

Fortunately, the recent agreement reached on the establishment of a neutral national unity government in Laos may be a step towards solution of the threatening situations. But, as long as the settlement in Laos is limited to that country alone and solution not provided for the problems in Vietnam and Korea and an end put on all these successive East-West conflicts in Asia, it is highly doubtful that a long-enduring settlement can be ensured and thus the causes of world peace promoted.

Settlement of the threatening situations in Korea and Vietnam requires the most urgency too. For that purpose, Koreans must, on this day that the Korean War broke out, call on the world to work out at once the formula to resolve the long-pending Korean Unification question. This step, we believe, will pave the way for military disengagement in Asia, ease the tensions between East and West and thus lay the foundation for a lasting world peace.

Overacting by Militarists Draws Distaste at Asian Anti-Red Meet

At the extraordinary session of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) held in Seoul from May 10 to 15 and participated by delegates from 20 Asian nations including the right-wing Laos government, the leaders of the ROK military government put on an all-star cast to show off their anti-Communism, but the overacting drew the distaste of foreign delegations.

ROK Supreme Council Chairman Park Chung-Hee proposed formation of an Asian Security Alliance but did not draw much attention. The main subject in the agenda became the creation of an Asian anti-Communist Center plan presented by Kim Chong-Pil, director of ROK Central Intelligence Agency. The center, according to the ROK plan, was to train anti-Red experts and functionaries; developing systematic anti-Communist ideology; train anti-Communist guerilla corps and promote exchange of informations.

The conference agreed in principle on establishment of such center but a fierce row developed between the ROK and Republic of China delegations over the site of the center. Nationalist China which prides itself as the champion of anti-Communism in Asia, could not just look on and let South Korea walk away with the honors and so her delegation countered with an amendment to change the name into "Research and Training Center of APACL, Korea" and also that such centers be installed in all Asian nations.

The ROK military government, on its part, wanted to arrest the initiative of anti-Communism so as to bolster its prestige as well as inducing more aids from the United States. The ROK delegation thus implored that "if the current conference fails in inaugurating the center, a setback will be brought about to the persistent struggle against Communist aggression."

After heated controversy and behind-

the-scene contacts, a compromise was reached and the conference adopted a resolution "to establish an APACL Freedom Center in Korea" and also provided that such centers would be encouraged to be established in other chapters of the League.

So the design of the upstart ROK militarists to walk away with the honors of leaders in anti-Communism was crushed; while the APACL spokesman announced that the expenses for the center in Seoul will be raised by South Korea though subsidies are expected from some of the member nations.

Now the fund needed to set up this Freedom Center is estimated at about 5 billion hwan. This is a lot of money for South Korea, for it is 111 times more than the total yearly research expenses for all national universities (45 million hwan). Besides education, countless are the sectors of the nation where financial aids have been drenched for years. The poor nation is in no position to spend such money on such project.

Park Kwan-Soo, Korean chapter president of the APACL explained that the fund will be raised "through contributions, government assistance and subsidies from Asian nations." But Asian nations are in no position to help others. Domestic contributions are an impossibility too. So it is obvious that the government will have to resort to levying of taxes to the further dismay of the nation.

Meanwhile, Seoul newspapers reported that a dull air dominated the conference. The Chosun Ilbo wrote: "The delegates did not even touch the speech texts distributed ...and on May 13 the delegates were invited to visit Panmunjom but many decided to remain in Seoul." Distaste apparently was what most delegates felt towards the play put on by the ROK militarists.

According to the results of a gallup poll conducted by the Hankook Ilbo on the occasion of the first anniversary of the military government and published on May 28, the public aspiration for unification has not changed a bit in spite of the ruthless suppression done by the militarists on the unificationists.

In answer to the paper's query: "What do you think is the most urgent problem of South Korea today?", 23.5% of the polls replied "Unification of Korea." This was followed by these replies in order: Unemployment relief and improvement of livelihood, Economic development, Reconstruction of farming district, and restoration of parliamentary government.

Fearing reprimand from the authorities, the paper did not write out the answers as customary in gallup polls, and the answers were filled in by the persons replying. So, in case of Question 1, a far higher percentage would have placed unification as the most urgent problem had the answers been given.

The replies unemployment relief, economic development and reconstruction of farming district that followed in order, are all problems Koreans believe unsolvable unless through unification.

So, the gallup poll clearly revealed that the public believes that unification is the only way to save the nation and also that the nation wishes to be delivered from the gnaw of military dictatorship and the living hardships as well. The poll results, therefore, can be interpreted as an expression of non-confidence of the public in the military administration.

Unification of Korea	23.5%	
Unemployment relief and improvement of livelihood	15.1	
Economic development		15
Reconstruction of farming district		~
Restoration of parliamentary government		13
Others including unreplied		
Total	100.0%	

Better	22.3%
Worse	26.2
Unchanged	50.0
Unreplied	1.5
	100.0

Completely eliminated	7.7%
Considerably eliminated	44.8
Some remain	28.5
Much remain	5.2
Unreplied	13.8
	100.0

5.7 Billion Hwan More for Spendings

On May 1, the ROK government enforced a 5.7 billion hwan revised and supplementary budget bill. The increase brought the total expenditures of the 1952 budget to 694.8 billion hwan as compared to the 689.8 billion of the original budget. The additional spendings will be distributed as follows: 2,353 million hwan for relief to the food-short populace; 526 million for training of taxation officials; 200 million for construction of a cross island highway in Cheju-do; 271 million for the construction of the Ulsan industrial context etc. Financial resources for the additional budget will come from the revenue income, monopoly special account and others.

Chang Do-Yung and Ex-Junta Members Released

On May 3, Lt. Gen. Chang Do-Yung, former Army chief of staff and ex-junta chairman was released from imprisonment after getting his life term sentence revoked by the Revolutionary Court. Also released were six military officers including 4 former junta members, Col. Park Chi-Ok (life imprisonment); Col. Moon Jae-Jun (life term); Brig. Gen. Song Chang-Ho (15 years) and Lt. Col. Kim Je-Mun (10 years). Maj. Gen. Kim Ung-Soo, former commander of the 6th Corps (10 years) and Col. Lee Chong-Tai (7 years) were also revoked their sentences. On announcing the releases, Chairman Park Chung-Hee said he was freeing Chang and 4 former junta members because of their contributions to the country. Col. Lee Hoe-Yung, former secretary to Chang Do-Yung, Col. Kim Il-Whan and Capt. Chung Won-Sang, however, were upheld their life imprisonment terms.

ROK Military Advisory Team Sent to South Vietnam

On May 12, the Kyunghang Shinmoon reported that the ROK government had sent a military advisory group composed of more than 10 high ranking officers experienced in guerilla warfare to South Vietnam on May 11. The newspaper also said that the plan of the advisory group was to stay in the country for two months. The daily also recalled that the Supreme Council Chairman had stated on May 3 that the Korean government was willing to make every possible effort to support and assist South Vietnam. The Defense Minister Bak Byeng-Kown, however, denied dispatch of any military advisory group and said that the officers' group went for an "ordinary inspection of military installations."

Cameraman Given 2-Year Term for Reporting on Hoodlums

On May 15, the Seoul Area Court Martial sentenced Chung Bum-Tae, photographer of the Hankook Ilbo, to two years in prison on charges of writing "falsified" news story which constituted libel. Similar charges against the city editor Lee Mok-U and another editor of the same paper Choi Byung-Uk, both co-defendants in the case, were found not guilty. The three were sent before the court martial in connection with a news story written by Chung covering a case of molestation done by hoodlums on tourists at Chundung-sa Temple in Kangwha Island. The prosecution had demanded 3 years for Chung, and eight months terms for both Lee and Choi charging them of "defaming the government which had cleared the nation of hoodlums."